[1]

133 16. The principal rivers, which joined together form the Caroní, are: Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú, and Tiriká.

There is besides a small strip of land which spills its waters toward the Karumán or Karmuarán River (British Guiana).

The abundance of water is one of the characteristics of the Gran Sabana; and even more is the hydraulic force, also metaphorically called "white coal," since all the rivers rush toward the Caroní in innumerable waterfalls or cataracts, the mere listing of which would fill several pages.

[137] 17. The Gran Sabana owes its name to a predominance in the region of natural fields of straw, which grows in shocks; but it especially owes its name to a contrast with the forest of British Guiana and the other bordering regions of Kuyuní, Paragua, etc. But let it not be assumed that this entire district is a single uniformly level highland like the Venezuelan llanos or the Argentinian pampas; quite the contrary, this is an extremely cut-up region, with innumerable hills, ridges, valleys, rivers, streams, and arroyos.

18. From the hydrographic point-of-view, it would be much more exact to call these lands "Upper Caroní," as the authors of the Taurepán-Spanish Catechism did; since in truth all the rivers flow toward the Caroní basin.

19. Inversely, from the orographic point-of-view, it would be more exact, expressive, and correct to call this region "Guiana Ridge," as the noted historian Caulín did when he wrote: "In this Ridge, which gives rise to the rivers of its coast, and runs toward the headwaters of the Suriñama River, dwell different tribes of Infantile Indians... These are Zapara, Macusi, Toruma, Cariguana, Aturayo, and Guacavayo.... Ridge that the Indians call Tumukurake..., and it carries along with it the rivers Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni, and Apamoni"... (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, p. 221).

● 103 The Indians themselves in their language call this region "Uek-tá," which means "place or land of hills," in

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

*192 *197 823 193

the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -hen. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-hen, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

● 103 104 b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

[114]

| 103 Place names | Suggested cartographic transcriptions | Names given on Tate's maps |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Mountains | | |
| Aparaman-təpũi | Aparamán-tepúi | Cerro Paramán |
| Ser-təpũi | Ser-tepúi | Cerro Setepui |
| Murosipan-təpũi | Murosipán-tepúi | Cerro Murusipán |
| Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-təpũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-təpũi | Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi | ——— |
| Kamarkai-barai-təpũi | Kamarkái-barái-tepúi | Cerro Manacawaia |

●103

| Place names | Suggested cartographic transcriptions | Names given on Tate's maps |
|---|---|---|
| Karũi-yeuku-tepũi | Karúi-yeukú-tepúi | Cerro Caraieucu |
| Enwarapaima-tepũi | Enuarapaimá-tepúi | Cerro Awarapaima |
| Aicha-tepũi | Aichá-tepúi | |
| Wayaraka-tepũi | Uayaraká-tepúi | Cerro Wairaka |
| Auyan-tepũi | Auyán-tepúi | Cerro Auyantepui |
| Wapinau-tepũi | Uapináu-tepúi | |

2. Inhabited places

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Uruyen | Uruyén | Urullén[56] |
| Santa Marta, ) | Santa Marta,) | Santamarta |
| or Tuaiba[57] ) | or Tuaibá ) | |
| Kurun-ken | Kurún-ken | |
| Alewiziba | Aleuíba | |
| Asakapan, or ) | Asakapán, or ) | Agnasacapán[58] |
| Abasakapan ) | Abasakapán ) | |
| Atapa-mota | Atapá-motá | |
| Kuwepiripan, ) | Ku-uepiripán, ) | |
| or Wepiripa ) | or Uepiripá ) | |
| Ibanamaru | Ibanamarú | Guanamarú |
| Kwai-paru, or) | Kuai-parú, or) | |
| Gwai-paru ) | Guai-parú ) | |
| Maiba-mota, or) | Maibá-motá, or) | |
| Maiba-pan ) | Maibá-pan ) | |
| Peipa | Peipá | |
| Ipupaipun | Ipupaipún | |
| Ayukupai | Ayukupái | Mayucupai |
| Waikimba | Uaikimbá | Guarimba[59] (?) |
| Ura-kupai | Urá-kupái | |
| Benn | Benné | |
| Amidan | Amidán | |
| Abara-paru | Abará-parú | |
| Wadekupai | Wadekupái | |
| Itõikupai | Itoikupái | |
| Oyuwopatõi | Oyu-uopatói | |
| Pũleũkepa | Puleukepá | |
| Atabar[60] | Atabár | |
| Kapin | Kapín | |
| Araubai | Araubái | |

56-60 [see footnotes on pp. 312-13, category 116 - Analyst]

| Place names | Suggested cartographic transcriptions | Names given on Tate's maps |
|---|---|---|
| **3. Streams and rivers** | | |
| Aicha | Aichá | Haicha[61] |
| Yuruan | Yuruán | Urullén[62] |
| Akanan | Akanán | Acanán |
| Karoni | Karoní, or Caroní[63] | Caroni |
| Karazo | Karáo | Carrao[64] |
| Kuana | Kuaná | Uana |
| Kapin | Kapín | _____ |
| **4. Regions, sabanas** | | |
| Kamara-ta | Kamarata | Camarata[65] |
| Akanamün-ta | Akanamún-ta | _____ |
| Uruyen-ta.i | Uruyén-tai | _____ |
| Yuruan-ta.i | Yuruán-tai | _____ |
| Chikoroka-ta.i | Chikoroká-tai | _____ |
| Kumba-ta.i | Kumbá-tai | _____ |
| Taba-munen-ta.i[66] | Tabá-munén-tai | _____ |

## Animals.

### a. Mammals.

268. Animal in general, usually referring to mammals — woto. The word is also used to mean the meat of a mammal, properly woto-pun.

269. Opossum, local Spanish "rabipelado" ("bare-tail"), Didelphis and Metachirus sp. (possibly also Philander and Marmosa) — abare (open b, nearly w). Taurepán, aware. Makuchi (Schomburgk) jawarri-cusinai (i.e. yabari-kusinai), "D. philander" (i.e. Philander sp.) Kalina (de Goeje) awari. Oyana (de Goeje) awalemõ. [Arawak (de Goeje) yawali].

270.-271. Yapok, water opossum, local Spanish "perrito de agua" ("little water-dog" but this is also applied to small otters), Chironectes ?minimus - abarepoka, maparwa. These were said to be two names for the same animal, which was not seen but the description of which suggests Chironectes. The definition is uncertain, however, and these words may refer rather to an otter. In Makuchi, Schomburgk defines maparua (= maparwa) as the larger

61-66 [see footnotes on pp. 313-14, category 116 - Analysis]

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311
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Fig. 1 — Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p. 107]

## LAND AND PEOPLE

### Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361 ●103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Oruá, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, 103 [823] which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103 which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[164 as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261 abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewiiba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
612 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131 at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroní and its tributaries
[139 there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184 where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101

97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analysis]

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group. 98

## Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

| 103 162 551 621 622 Name of place | Head man (to$^{9}$-esa$^{9}$) | Number of men |
|---|---|---|
| KAMARATA: | | |
| Uruyén. | Reyes. | 4 |
| Santa Marta, or Tuaibá. | Simón Bolívar. | 4 |
| Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi. | Marcelino Torres. | 2 |
| Aleniba. | Juan José. | 1 |
| | | Total in Kamarata - 11 |
| AKANAMUINTA: | | |
| Asakapán, or Abasakapán. | Ramón Yepes. | 4 |
| Atapá-motá. | Alejo Calcaño. | 6 |
| Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá. | Pedro José. | 2 |
| | | Total in Akanamuinta-12 |
| AKANAN VALLEY: | | |
| Ibanamarú. | (Mateo Agostini. | 6 |
| | (Lorenzo. 99 | 3 |
| Guaiparú. | Tomás Ribas. | 4 |
| Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan | José Rangel. 99 | 4 |
| Peipá. | Gavilán. | 1 |
| Ipupaipún. | Rolando. | 4 |
| Ayukupái. | Ricardo Pérez. | 3 |
| Uaikimba$^{9}$. | Pablo Abati. | 1 |
| Urá-kupái. | Palacio. | 2 |

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 103 | Benné. | Lorenzo. 99 | 3 |
| 162 | Amidán. | José Rangel. 99 | 4 |
| 551 | Abaraparú. | (Not recorded.) | 2 |
| 621 | | | |
| 622 | | | Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37 |

KARAO VALLEY:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Itoikupái. | Celestino. | 2 |
| Oyu-nopatói. | José Dolores. | 3 |
| Puleukepá. | Simoncito. | 2 |
| Atabar. | Antonio Montesdeoca. | 4 |
| | | Total in Karao Valley-11 |

OTHERS:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On the Kusaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái. | Venancio Pacheco. | 2 |
| On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín. | Daniel. | 3 |
| On the trail to Luepa - Araubái. | Faustino Rivas | 2 |
| | | Total others - 7 |

Total men in central group - 78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.100

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.101

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

| Type of building | Material: Roof | Material: Walls | Use |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. Elongate: parapan. | kunwada-yarę. | maripada-yarę. | Principal dwelling. Reyes and family. |
| B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun. | kunwada-yarę. | (none) | Work-house for A. |
| C. Circular: waipa. | kunwada-yarę. | maripada-yarę. | Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors. |
| D. Elongate: parapan. | kunwada-yarę. | mud (non). | Dwelling, Claudio and family. |
| E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakęn. | kunwada-yarę. | mud (non). | Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors. |

Lab. Ind. 131 ● 181 102

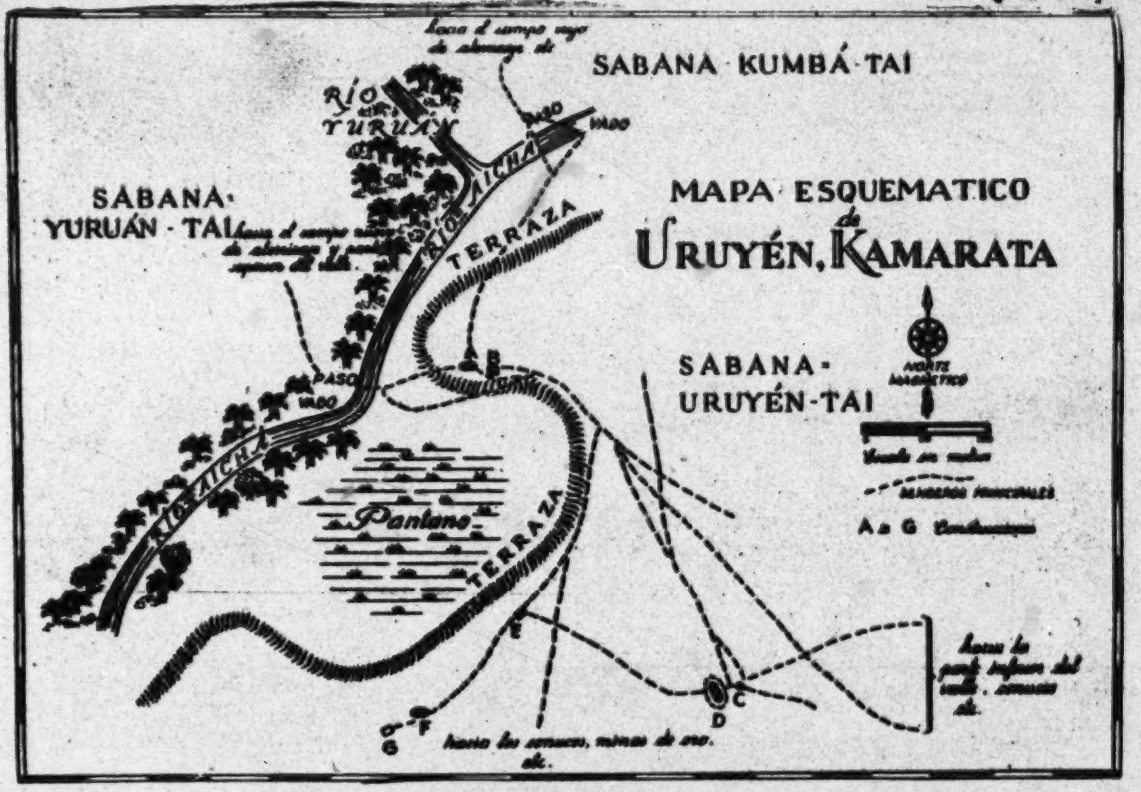


Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16 Kamarakoto
122e

539 pemon-don yenpül maicha' erenkai.
"People (Indians) are coming. Maichak to kill."
[101] Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]
Kamarakotox: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakoi[8]: from near Luepa.
Karoniai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakoi: from Brazil.
Mwerwan: from the Caroni.
— and many others.

Maichak understood the women to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three ●[103] days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata [101] is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the ant-eater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

## Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparita.
b. The rattle.
— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawöra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

● 103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

183 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] [114] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroní that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoní at this late date. Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi- [825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoní is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoní is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwaní. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruán; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikorokú-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Balzasar gives "nareme' = Tamandua" and "noino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

193 127 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 153 195 192 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed us and each other around pointing and shouting "tɘ?" in imitation of the shutter. This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but apparently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 192 [439] 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 114 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekumas were forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 [103] [297] [114] 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call them the Arekumas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become) the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 114 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
● 103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none [848] of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly